/10/

*795 793 The brotherhood of the Murids was instituted in Senegal at the end of the last century by a Toucouleur /Tukolor/ marabout named Amadou Bamba M'Backé. He did it, Murid tradition reports, following a vision during which the Angel Gabriel revealed to him his vocation as apostle-restorer of Islam in that country.

Amadou Bamba had studied the Koran thoroughly under Cheikh /Sheik/ Sidi Sidiya, and because of this he had received the wird. He therefore was of Quadria obedience. Nevertheless, by creating his own brotherhood and founding Muridism, he produced a completely original work, and he knew particularly well how to adapt his preaching to the mentality of the Ouolof /Wolof/, among whom it spread rapidly and became firmly established.

The essential trait of the Murid is his blind and fanatical attachment to his marabout and to the Murid doctrine; the primordial characteristic of Muridism is to have made manual [461] labor (generally scorned in Black Africa and in Islam) the equivalent of prayer and, as such, capable of ensuring the eternal salvation of the disciple (talibé).

*795 114 The history of the vocation and the preachings of Amadou Bamba, as well as the circumstances of the birth and first development of the brotherhood are known; Captain Marty in L'Islam au Sénégal /Islam in Senegal/ and A. Gouilly in L'Islam en A. O. F. /Islam in French West Africa/ have spoken about it with authority.

Our purpose, therefore, will not be to repeat what has already been written about the Murids and their brotherhood, but to report some recent observations about them made by the author in the course of a stay at Diourbel during which he was able to approach the current leaders of the brotherhood frequently and to attend several times the pilgrimage that they organize annually in their "capital," Touba, under the name of Magal.

128 We shall call to mind, therefore, successively:

— Touba, the holy city of the Murids, its mosque, its Magal;

/389 cont./

Recensement 1953 /The mixed commune of Thiès. 1953 Census/," Dakar, 1954. We have only converted into percentages the figures given on pp. 25 ff. of this pamphlet.

By its very diversity, this population thus constitutes an excellent field of study and experiment for the sociologist and the economist.

A socio-demographic inquiry by questionnaire was made previously, in November and December 1953. The sample chosen contained 900 heads of families questioned (2). We

2. The results of this inquiry, which was supervised by Dr. Massé, will be published in the next issue of this Bulletin.

wished to complete it partially by studying some family budgets in a very limited number, 46, three of which proved to be useless.

Under no pretext should any general value be given to the results that are going to be presented. The trends shown will have to be confirmed by other, more extensive inquiries, in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1926 by the Third Conference of the Statisticiens du travail, which specified: "it is better to give up certain details which the inquiry might reveal than to reduce the number of families studied."

/390/ We have almost systematically taken a course opposite to this recommendation, because the information now available on the daily life of the Africans in the cities of Senegal (and in French West Africa in its totality) is still too insufficient for one to be able to undertake broader inquiries. On the other hand, and this was a major obstacle, we did not have at our disposal sufficient means to study a larger number of families. This has saved us from the temptation of looking too far; daily African life is at this point complex, particularly in its economic aspect, so that in certain respects the work accomplished and the documents

/390 cont./

114 collected seemed to us later to lack precision.

125 The method that we have used is simple. For the seven African investigators (each concerning himself with six or seven families) and for the director of the investigation, it was primarily a matter of being present as often as possible and as long as possible with each family and of noting in a notebook devised for this use all of the financial activities of the family each day during a month of 31 days (1)

1. For detailed information on the method followed for this investigation, cf. Y. Mersadier, "Un essai d'enquête sur le niveau de vie d'une population urbaine /An attempt to investigate the living standard of an urban population/" [communication at the conference of experts on the social consequences of industrialization and the urban problems in Africa, Abidjan, September 1954].

[511] (the month of March 1954). We obtained quite accurate data on the "routine" expenses of the month, principally food, fuel, illumination, and maintenance, and basic elements for the calculation of other categories of expenses, clothing, material, equipment, various familial expenses, religious expenses, etc., which we wanted to estimate for the period of a year. But here we had to rely in part on the statements of the persons investigated. Nevertheless the almost continual presence of the investigator with the families for a month permitted him, in several questionings and by rechecking, to arrive at figures which we believe are quite close to reality.

125 434 The real income was often quite difficult to estimate. In principle there should have been no difficulties in the case of salaried workers, who willingly show their pay receipt. For the

/400 cont./

*511 452 debts in full. The latter pay for the others, and, if they know it, they are not surprised. It is a deep-rooted survival of the traditional, essentially collective funds in a system based on an institution of individualistic character, being salaried. Likewise, [166] [602] [592] the salaried person who is one day obliged to pay back more debts than he can meet will be able to send his family to spend a few months among relatives whom he has kept in the natal village, and they will see nothing abnormal in it. He himself will live as a "parasite" in a more favored unit of consumption, and no one will be surprised by it (1).

[114]

1. The problems of credit, complex and not very well known, the elements of which are often imperceptible, have not been followed systematically in the course of this investigation. We hope to make them the subject of a series of investigations which will be devoted especially to them.

*511 592 Is it a sign of evolution that, out of the five units of consumption that have not admitted into their midst any element foreign to the restricted family, two are among the youngest, thus capable of being more strongly influenced by ideas of [452] emancipation? Among these two, we have likewise found a lower percentage of purchases on credit. A broader investigation would perhaps confirm this tendency.

*511 Let us return to the 43 families to ascertain that the first balanced budget appears with the first income of 15,000 francs. The next three again have a deficit, but a smaller one. Taking account of the possible margin of error, one can infer, not a deficit, but a certain difficulty in "making ends meet."

This experiment, however, is too limited for one to be able to conclude with certainty that 15,000 francs is the indispensable minimum monthly income.

All of the budgets following No. 27 clearly have a surplus. We previously noted that the "hole" of No. 34 is due to the cost

/431 cont./

*511 not been able to take this income into account, but he is certainly erroneously placed in our list; this is No. 23. The 15,000 francs shown indeed correspond to his way of life, but he should certainly be higher.

Finally, many do not know where the money goes... and would be very surprised to learn that they should normally have a surplus at the end of each month. It is very probable [426] that they loan /432/ much of it, which is never returned to them and which they do not think of asking for; they are the ones who permit the system to remain in equilibrium.

*511 114 Many points have remained obscure in the course of this study, and many others require some explanation. We have strictly limited ourselves to a report of the verifications that we have made concerning the budgets of our families, not wishing to go still further and speak of the "standard of living." These are thus raw results which need to be worked over, put back in their framework, and illuminated in the light of their context: all the elements that make up African daily life.

But other studies of the same order are under way. One was recently made in Dakar itself; another will soon begin in Saint-Louis. By combining the results we will then be able to confirm certain of the tendencies shown and, finally, perhaps to draw some valid conclusions.

*511 The provisional conclusions would be: the apparent impossibility, or in any case the difficulty, of balancing a budget when the income is less than 15,000 francs, at least by changing the food habits (by consuming more millet, for example) and above all the social context. But on this last point the traditions are still the strongest. On the other hand, as we have just said, it is because of them that the system remains in equilibrium. [369] But from this struggle between two forces, the traditions of the rural life and the necessities of life in the city, there is the danger that disequilibrium will arise. In any case this is what often happens on the level of the familial groups that we studied.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

PREFACE

114 THIS short study of Senegal with particular reference to France's policy of assimilation of her colonial peoples is the result of a number of visits made to Senegal since 1955. However, most of the material was gathered in the months of January, February and March of 1961 while I was in Senegal participating in a major research project sponsored by the Institute of Race Relations and directed by Mr. Guy Hunter, which has resulted in his recently published *The New Societies of Tropical Africa*. I am particularly grateful 121 to Mr. Hunter for indirectly giving me the opportunity to collect material for this book, for there is a great dearth of material in English on the French-speaking states of Africa. I must also thank Mr. Philip Mason who first suggested the idea of writing such a book, which I hope will help to give some idea of the special character of the African country that was most heavily subjected to France's policy of assimilation. I also hope it will clear away some of the current misconceptions about French assimilation and its effects on Africans.

000 Many people have helped, often unwittingly, in the creation of this book. I have acknowledged written sources in a detailed bibliography at the end of the book and I have marked with an asterisk those on which I have drawn particularly heavily. Much of my material was obtained in conversation and I am afraid it would be impossible to thank all those who have helped me in this respect. I am, however, particularly indebted to the following: M. Raymond Mauny, M. Ly Abdoulaye, M. André Hauser, M. Yves Mersadier and M. Diop Abdoulaye of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire at the University of Dakar; M. Galou Fall, M. Guy Etcheverry, and M. Alain Kocher of the Ministry of Information; of the British Embassy, H. E. Mr. Adam Watson and Mr. Tim Brierley who lent

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[P. 3 A] [P2 contains no textual material]

Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition

Senegal and Sudan presently comprise the Mali Federation, which is in the process of achieving sovereignty within the French Community. Senegal itself is one of the most urbanized West African regions, and its cities have been characterized by a gradual growth of modern political life. The author presents some major findings on its urban political activity, based on extensive interviews made in the mid-1950's. The oldest urban elite, almost entirely assimilated into the French way of life, has been only partially successful in developing party organizations that satisfy the interests of the newer urban residents. As a consequence, the most active and radical post-war political activity has been centered in "non-political" bodies, notably labor unions. Also, urban political activity has been increasingly challenged by rural political developments, which have drawn their framework from urban politics. African specialists will note that Senegalese political development has much in common with such development elsewhere in Africa; it also has a number of distinctive features.

The article originally appeared in CAHIERS INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE, *XXVII (July-December, 1959), pp. 55-84, under the title,* "La vie politique dans les centres urbains du Sénégal." *It was translated by T. H. Stevenson.*

369 668 [1 A] 665 467 [1 1]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
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668 portant part of the urban population has considerable mobility, and thus maintains solid ties and frequent communication with the regions of its origins.[8] Moreover, lesser members of the modern urban [571] elites, *e.g.*, workers and petty officials, have been settled in rural centers, thus extending urban influence still further. By these means a double network of individuals more or less shaped by the conditions of urban life is established. Contacts and relations between urban centers and rural districts can vary markedly, however. The area affected by the prestige of political leaders thus may be more or less extensive. The forms of activity and organization created in the city generally can be transplanted to rural sectors only in their rudimentary forms.

In Senegal, historical factors account for the sharp division between city and countryside. In the old coastal cities, a separatistic history and a particular juridical status have contributed to their marginal position in Senegalese life. The consequences of the separation between the former "citizens" of "the four communes" and the former "subjects" of the interior[9] have not been entirely wiped out, even in recent years.

From the foregoing points of view, Senegalese urban political life can be oriented in summary fashion to the general problems of urban political life. A series of particular traits in the Senegalese situation are first interpreted against the historical background. The subsequent section summarizes the results of investigations conducted in certain Senegalese • [114] centers in 1953-1955, during a period of transition between two major phases in the development of political life.[10]

[P.6A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 665 369 666 ally to express themselves in opposition to the old cities. The legislative elections of 1951 were typical in this respect. The enlarged rural electorate had numerical control and held the key to success in the elections; a substantial part of the urban masses shared in an effort to drive a breach in the old system of urban domination. In this period the ideological aspects of the political parties were still unimportant. The elections of 1951 were a victorious revolt of the new citizens, urban and rural, against the old citizens of the "four communes."[25] The two candidates of the B.D.S. won. Significantly, one of them represented directly, through the unions, the new forces. The division between the whole of the territory and the cities was thus repeated *within* the cities. A new phase had commenced, one in which politics became more complicated. But the forms that can be termed "traditional" for political life were too deeply embedded within the patterns of urban life to give way at once.

Senegalese Political Life in Transition, 1953-1956

668 665 [114] It was under such conditions that researches were conducted on the forms of political expression in several Senegalese urban centers, chiefly at Dakar-Gorée and at St. Louis — that is, three of the four communes — and also at Thiès, a newer city in the interior close to and under the influence of the Dakar-Gorée-Rufisque aggregate. This last study provided certain comparative materials. This essay discusses only some of the findings of these researches. Three essential facts must be remembered:

(1) The importance retained by certain long-standing patterns. A party de-

[P. 10A]

114 /665/ The study of demography in the countries of Black Africa has made great progress in recent years. Nevertheless, it has often had to be limited to monographs because of the diversity of the ethnic groups and the lack of census statistics.

Among the questions to be studied is that of consanguinity, often in these regions and sometimes responsible for demographic stagnation and an unhealthy condition. It is in this direction that the activity of Dr. Cantrelle of the Institut français d'Afrique noire /French Institute of Black Africa/ is oriented. The high degree of endogamy among the populations that he has studied is given particular attention. The results presented here deal with the Senegalese Fouta and are to be followed by more complete data pertaining to the Fouta Djallon.

Introduction

133 The Senegal River separates the republic of Senegal from that of Mauritania. Its central valley, running from east to west, between Dembakané upstream and Dagana downstream, constitutes a region defined by history and geography, the Fouta Toro. This is a long alluvial strip more than 400 kilometers long by ten kilometers wide on the average, hemmed in by two semi-arid regions, the Mauritanian Sahara on the north and the Ferlo of Senegal on the south (Map No. 1). In contrast
161 to these two regions, in which lives a population of nomadic shepherds, very low in density, the fertile valley has a concentration of farmers, fishermen, and livestock-raisers, with a relatively great density of about 20 inhabitants per square kilometer downstream, 35 near the center, and reaching 50 upstream.

143 Like most of the large valleys, it is a zone of passage which in the course of previous centuries has mixed together populations of varied origin, and one can assume that this region of homogeneous appearance, and where Islam is the sole religion, has created conditions favorable to panmixia (1).

1. Panmixia: assemblage of hypotheses

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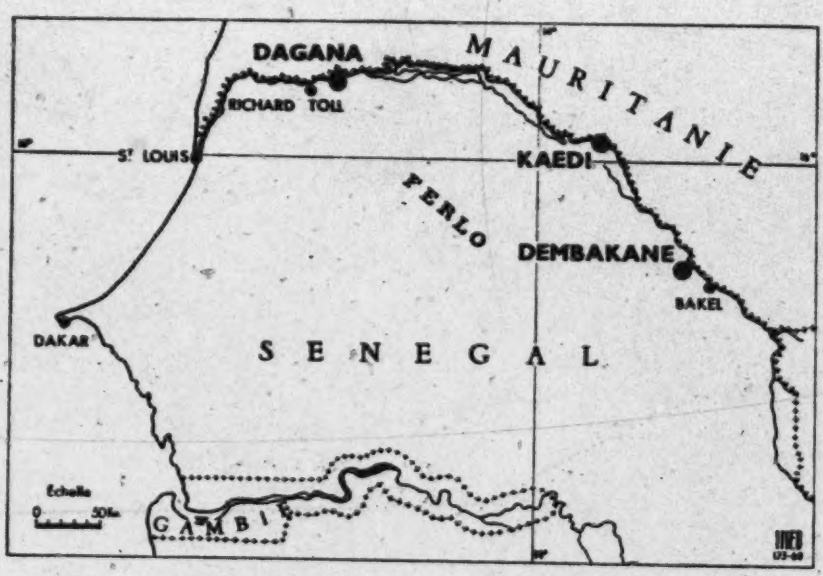

Map No. 1. /Mauritanie = Mauritania; Gambie = Gambia; eschelle = scale./

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143 and variation of these facts with regard to dates and regions, thanks to various registers which have existed for several generations (Sutter and Tabah [4] and [5], Sutter [6]).

● 114
143 In the western part of Africa it is difficult to gather this kind of information, which the administrative censuses do not normally give. The first quantitative study of endogamy by M. de Lestrange in Guinea among the Coniagui [7] has permitted an evaluation of the size of the isolate, one woman /667/ being able to choose her partner from among 400 to 500 men, but does not specify the frequency of consanguineous unions. It deals with a closed population limited to 8,000 persons.

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125 The population of the valley of the Senegal itself is much more extensive and, in principle, not closed. In this case a demographic inquiry by sampling, taking one out of ten, has been resorted to, which made it possible to establish, in 1957, not only its classic characteristics of structure (sex, age, ethnic affiliation, place of birth, etc.) and of natural change (fertility, mortality), but also elements permitting precise determination of its degree of endogamy,

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Table IV. Absolute numbers of consanguineous marriages and their percentage in the principal Toucouleur castes. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Caste	Number of couples interrogated	Consanguineous Marriages 4th D Nos.	5th D Nos.	6th D Nos.	Total Nos.	%	Coefficient of cansanguinity F X 10^3
Torobé	101	15	6	14	35	35.6	10.9
Fisher-men	56	8	4	6	18	32.2	8.2
Artisans	27	7	1	4	12	44.4	13.6
Captives	93	6	0	4	10	10.7	4.2

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the mother's brother (19) or the father's brother (15), rather than the daughter of the mother's sister (8) or of the father's sister (4). These consanguineous marriages represent the most strict form of endogamy. The others reflect the same tendency, but are practiced in a larger framework, lineage, clan, the extent of which we have not been able to evaluate. There are also traditional unions between two or more families, which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

Actual endogamy. The results observed in the valley of the Senegal cannot be extended to the Sahelo-Sudan region and still less to the western part of Africa. From analogous studies now in progress, we shall soon know whether the situation is comparable in the other regions of the Senegal and the Sudan.

In the valley the frequency of marriages of the fourth to the sixth degree inclusive ranks among the highest yet observed anywhere in the world. Freire-Maia in 1957 [10] collected data on this point, followed by Serra and Soini in 1959 [11] in this same journal. The measure which gives the best

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S /432 cont./
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463 The 609 individuals who derive a profit from the fashion trades are divided ethnically as follows:
[294]

Cape Verde group	243
Wolof group	157
Diola group	48
Lebou group	31
Sérèr group	29
Others	101

W
[294]
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W
[386] The majority of the 142 dyers are Toucouleur /Tukolar/ (77) and Wolof (36).

W
[463] Out of 1,455 Wolof women practicing a trade, for their own benefit or salaried, 598 are tradeswomen, 157 in sewing, 110 business employees.

The Lébou women likewise prefer to carry on a business (150 out of 340 counted as workers).

S
125 II. Experimental Research on the Aesthetic Sense of Dakar Women in the Matter of Clothing

For this study, which is only in its beginnings, two methods are used:

--direct observation of clothing worn for display by a certain number of women,

-- the result of tests conducted among some of them.

/Table I appears here on an unnumbered page./

/433/

A. Direct Observation.

1. Circumstances.

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[114] a) The investigation was conducted in the Médina of Dakar, in the quarters Sapeurs-pompiers /Firemen/ and Champ de courses /Race course/ -- between 9 and 19 November 1956, at the end of an election.

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On March 15, 1955, the I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noire/ was informed by the administration of the Collège Technique d'Industrie at Fann of the discovery, by students of this establishment, of human skeletons inside a baobab located between this school and the Mandel rest home, at the edge of the Médina of Dakar (1). The next day we went

1. Discovery announced in the Paris-Dakar of March 22, 1955. February 19 was given erroneously.

to the spot and returned from there on March 19.

This baobab, called "Bok," rises in the middle of a former garden. It is of fine size: 15 meters high, 18.50 meters in circumference, or nearly six meters in diameter (Fig. 1). The trunk is hollow and forms a nearly circular chamber, 3.50 meters in diameter by six meters high, connected to the outside by three orifices: one on the east at ground level, 60 centimeters high by 45 wide, through which there is access to the interior; a sort of dormer window, 0.35 by 0.25 of a meter, on the north face, /73/ 75 centimeters above the ground; and, in the ceiling of the interior cavity, a slit one meter long by about 0.30 of a meter wide (Fig. 2).

Inside, the ground is composed of brownish earth mixed with sand and many human bones. The upper layer had already been excavated by students desirous of procuring skulls for themselves. The first time, we took away the bones found on the surface, not having the means to make excavations. When we came back two days later with the necessary equipment, we noticed that meanwhile new borings and samplings had been made by the students; thus this time it was wise to remove /Fig. 1 appears here/ all the osteological material possible, without being able to proceed with methodical excavations.

We therefore rescued all that we could; the skeletons were tangled up in the most extraordinary fashion without any attempt at orientation. The bodies had, obviously been thrown down

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125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban
[162] zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

•114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban
162 zone). It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde; 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal
161 are actually in residence there. Moreover, this concentration has
648 become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the Change in The Commercial Circuits.